

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /095 W  
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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION USNATO  
USINT BAGHDAD  
AMCONSUL ADANA  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL  
AMCONSUL IZMIR

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USEEC

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, TU, EG, LY  
SUBJECT: CONTINUING DOMESTIC CRITICISM OF TURKISH FONMIN'S  
VISIT TO CAIRO

REF: (A) ANKARA 8700, (B) TRIPOLI 1510

1. SUMMARY: AS OPPOSITION AND INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED  
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DEC. 1 AND 2 TO CRITICIZE TURKISH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL'S CURRENT  
VISIT TO CAIRO, THE GOVERNING COALITION CONTINUED TO PRESENT AN IMAGE  
OF DISARRAY OVER THE QUESTION WITH JUSTICE PARTY (JP) MINISTER OF  
ENERGY INAN JOINING THE COALITION-MEMBER NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY  
(NSP) IN ATTACKING THE TRIP AS ILL-TIMED, DETRIMENTAL TO TURKEY'S  
INTERESTS, AND UNAUTHORIZED BY THE CABINET. NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY  
(NAP) LEADER, DEPRIMIN TURKES, NEWLY RETURNED FROM LIBYA, MILDLY

DESCRIBED TRIP'S TIMING AS UNFORTUNATE. A MAJOR LEFTIST PAPER REPORTS THAT CAGLAYANGIL WENT TO CAIRO IN DEFIANCE OF DEMIREL'S ORDERS. CAGLAYANGIL'S CAIRO VISIT APPEARS TO BE THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF A STYLE OF OPERATION IN WHICH THE GOT, WHILE UNABLE TO PRESENT A COHERENT PUBLIC POSITION, IS NEVERTHELESS ABLE TO UNDERTAKE A SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. REACTIONS IN TURKISH PRESS TO FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL'S CURRENT VISIT TO CAIRO CONTINUED TO BE PREDOMINANTLY NEGATIVE DEC. 1 AND 2 WITH COMMENTARIES IN OPPOSITION AND INDEPENDENT PAPERS CALLING IS "UNTIMELY", "IRRESPONSIBLE", AND "UNFORTUNATE". MANY ALSO POINTED UP THE DISUNITY AMONG THE GOVERNING COALITION OVER THE TRIP (JP DEFENDING IT, NSP ATTACKING, NAP LEADER VISITING LIBYA AT THE SAME TIME) AS EVIDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HOPELESS INCAPACITY. ONLY PRO-JP PAPERS DEFENDED IT, WITH SON HAVADIS CALLING THE NSP'S PUBLIC CRITICISM "SCANDALOUS" AND TERCUMAN POINTING OUT THAT BALANCED RELATIONS ARE NEEDED WITH ALL ARAB COUNTRIES, INCLUDING EGYPT. WHILE CONCEDED THAT CAGLAYANGIL'S TRIP WAS MADE WITHOUT CABINET APPROVAL, TERCUMAN NOTED THAT RECENT VISITS TO LIBYA BY NAP LEADER, DEPPRIMIN ALPARSLAN TURKES, AND TO IRAQ BY NSP LEADER, DEPPRIMIN NECMETTIN ERBAKAN, WERE ALSO MADE WITHOUT A CABINET DECISION, AND THAT THE THREE VISITS TOGETHER BALANCE TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH ARAB WORLD. THE TERCUMAN EDITORIAL ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE VISIT SHOULD HELP US-TURKISH RELATIONS BY PLEASING NOT ONLY THE US GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO THE JEWISH LOBBY, WHICH IS EVEN MORE INFLUENTIAL WITH CONGRESS THAN THE GREEK LOBBY.

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3. DEC. 1 PRESS ALSO PUBLISHED A CRITICAL STATEMENT BY CAGLAYANGIL'S JP COLLEAGUE, MINISTER OF ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES KAMRAN INAN. INAN, WHO HAS LONG MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE FEELS HIMSELF BEST QUALIFIED TO BE FONMIN, CALLED IT "DETRIMENTAL TO TURKEY'S NATIONAL POLICY TO DRAG TURKEY INTO THE PRESENTLY HIGHLY SENSITIVE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, ALMOST TO THE POINT OF MAKING HER A PARTICIPANT, THROUGH AN UNNECESSARY OFFICIAL VISIT." ECHOING NSP CRITICISMS, INAN SAID SUCH A TRIP OUGHT NOT TO HAVE BEEN MADE WITHOUT BEING DISCUSSED AND APPROVED BY THE CABINET.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00

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NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /095 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9686

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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4. LEFTIST, STRONGLY ANTI-GOVERNMENT CUMHURIYET REPORTED DEC. 1 THAT THE NSP'S STATEMENT CRITICIZING CAGLAYANGIL'S TRIP LED TO A DEBATE BETWEEN DEPPRIMIN ERBAKAN AND PREMIN DEMIRJT AT THE NOV. 30 CABINET MEETING. DEMIREL REPORTEDLY SAID, "YOU CAN'T ATTACK ME WITH STATEMENTS AND WORDS. I'M GOING TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT A GOVERNMENT ISSUE." ERBAKAN REPORTEDLY ANSWERED, "WHAT KIND OF BUSINESS IS THAT? YOU TAKE ONE AND SEND HIM TO LIBYA, YOU TAKE ANOTHER AND SEND HIM TO CAIRO. YOU LEAVE TURKEY IN A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DIFFICULT SITUATION, THEN YOU TALK ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY. SUCH FOREIGN POLICY CANNOT BE." CUMHURIYET'S ARTICLE SAYS THAT ACTING FONMIN, MINISTER OF STATE SEYI OZTURK, THEN GAVE A TWO-HOUR PRESENTATION ON TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY, DURING WHICH HE STATED THAT DEMIREL HAD SENT CAGLAYANGIL SIX SEPARATE TELEGRAMS TELLING HIM NOT TO GO TO CAIRO (CAGLAYANGIL WENT THERE FROM ZURICH) BUT THAT CAGLAYANGIL SENT BACK SIX REPLIES SAYING HE WANTED TO GO. ERBAKAN ALLEGEDLY GREETED THIS REVELATION WITH ANOTHER OUTBURST AGAINST DEMIREL'S STYLE OF LEADERSHIP.

5. DEPPRIMIN TURKES, RETURNING FROM LIBYA NOV. 30 WITH APPARENTLY STANDARD ASSURANCES OF CONTINUED AND EXPANDED BROTHERLY COOPERATION

BETWEEN TURKEY AND LIBYA, SAID THAT CAGLAYANGIL'S VISIT HAD FALLEN AT AN UNFORTUNATE TIME BUT NOTED THAT IT HAD BEEN PLANNED SIX MONTHS EARLIER. (NOTE: TURKES' STATEMENT APPEARED EXTREMELY MILD IN VIEW OF NUMEROUS REPORTS THAT HE HAD EARLIER ATTEMPTED TO HAVE CAGLAYANGIL'S VISIT POSTPONED.)

6. DEC. 2 MASS CIRCULATION, SENSATIONALIST GUNAYDIN REPORTED THAT TURKES, WHILE EN ROUTE HOME FROM LIBYA SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF HIS TALKS THERE, LEARNED WHILE BETWEEN PLANES AT ROME AIRPORT THAT CAGLAYANGIL WAS THERE ON HIS WAY TO CAIRO AND ANGRILY TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS MESSING UP EVERYTHING AND THAT IT WAS NOT THE TIME FOR SUCH A VISIT. DEC. 2 CUMHURİYET WRITES SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORILY THAT WHEN NEWS REACHED TRIPOLI OF CAGLAYANGIL'S PLANS, THE LIBYANS BACKED OFF FROM GRANTING TURKEY \$550 MILLION OF CREDITS ALREADY AGREED UPON AND SAID THAT THE CREDITS REQUIRED FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AT SOME UNSPECIFIED DATE. ACCORDING TO CUMHURİYET, TURKES REFUSED TO ANSWER A NEWSMAN WHO ASKED HIM ABOUT THIS.

7. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE DAILY NEWS QUOTED "DIPLOMATIC SOURCES" AS SAYING THAT THE VISIT COULD EASILY HAVE BEEN POSTPONED BECAUSE THE EGYPTIANS, BUSY WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAIRO MID-EAST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONFERENCE, HAD SIGNALLED THAT THEY WOULD BE UNDERSTANDING OF SUCH A REQUEST; CAGLAYANGIL, HOWEVER, INSISTED ON GOING.

8. COMMENT: THIS DISARRAY IN COALITION MEMBERS' PUBLIC POSITIONS ON A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE PROBABLY DOES, AS WE NOTED PREVIOUSLY, HELP BALANCE THE CONFLICTING DEMANDS OF TURKISH RELATIONS WITH EGYPT, LIBYA, AND IRAQ. OBVIOUSLY THE DISARRAY UNDERCUTS CAGLAYANGIL IN EGYPT; HOWEVER, GIVEN THE PRESUMABLY LIMITED OBJECTIVES AND POSSIBILITIES OF HIS TRIP, THE UNDERCUTTING SEEMS UNLIKELY TO DO SERIOUS HARM. THE CONFLICT WITHIN THE COALITION SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO HAVE SIGNIFICANCE IN (A) ADDING TO THE DISSATISFACTION OF THOSE IN THE JP WHO OPPOSE CONTINUING THE COALITION, (B) INCREASING THE POLITICAL STRAINS ON CAGLAYANGIL, AND (C) FEEDING OTHER COUNTRIES' DOUBTS ABOUT THE GOT'S ABILITY TO FUNCTION IN FOREIGN POLICY.

9. THE STYLE DEMONSTRATED IN THIS INCIDENT--THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CARRYING OUT A POLICY WHILE GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OPPOSE IT PUBLICLY--IS NOT WITHOUT PRECEDENT. THE MOST RECENT PREVIOUS EXAMPLE WAS ERBAKAN'S STATEMENTS FAVORING TURKISH CYPRIOT INDEPENDENCE WHILE THE GOVERNMENT MAINTAINED THE OPPOSITE POSITION. THIS STYLE COULD REPRESENT ONE ALTERNATIVE TO COALITION PARALYSIS ON DISPUTED FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES--A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT'S NEED TO ACT RESPONSIBLY AND THE SMALL PARTIES' INSISTENCE ON PLAYING TO THE GALLERIES. IF SO, THE KEY POINT TO NOTE MAY BE NOT THE COALITION'S LACK OF A COHESIVE PUBLIC POSITION BUT THE FACT THAT CAGLAYANGIL WENT TO EGYPT. SPIERS

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## Message Attributes

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